# LETTER

TO A

### DISSENTING MINISTER,

CONTAINING

REMARKS on the late Act for the RELIEF
of his Majesty's Subjects professing the
Popish Religion:

#### WITH

Some STRICTURES on the Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of Great Britain.

#### ALSO

Extracts from several Acts of Parliament; with a brief State of the Penal Law, as it now stands, shewing that neither Popish Priests nor School-Masters are legally tolerated in exercising any Part of their Functions; and recommending Christian Charity and Forbearance towards all the peaceable Worshippers of Goo.

## By a LAY DISSENTER.

LONDON,

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MDCCLXXX.

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## DISSENTING MINISTER.

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REVEREND SIR,

Protestant Association, I now sit down to commit my thoughts to paper, that they may be transmitted to you, agreeably to my engagement. Conscious of my inability to investigate so important a subject, I wish to deliver my sentiments with a becoming modesty; and convinced, at the same time, of your liberal disposition of mind, I shall proceed with that freedom which such a liberality, heightened by friendship, is calculated to produce.

Previous to my entering upon the proposed business, I beg leave to call the Canada bill to your recollection: it passed in the year 1774, and was represented, by our patriots, as a prelude to an intended establishment of popery here. My opinion at that time was, that the limits of the province of Canada had been enlarged, its former mode of government restored, and popery established, for the sole purpose of overawing and counteracting those colonies which were then refractory, soon afterwards revolted, and are now leagued with our natural enemies for the destruction of their parent state. Our leaders in opposition seemed to be greatly alarmed

on the occasion, and their fears were industriously sounded throughout the kingdom: but as the late bill, for the relief of our popish sellow-subjects, was brought in and supported by the same men, it may fairly be inferred, that they saw the propriety of both the acts in the exigency of the times, that they simply believed them to have been framed for political purposes only, and that there was not the least intention to promote the growth of popery, or to injure the protestant cause.

Thinking it necessary to advert to the "Appeal from the Protestant Association to the People of Great Britain," in order to form a judgment on their motives and views; I shall quote some parts of that pamphlet, and

make a few remarks on the passages.

In the feventh page they fay: "It is not our desire to perfecute; but, as protestants, we are concerned for the fecution. When we call to mind the protestant blood that has been shed by papists, both at home and in foreign countries, we cannot but be excited to fush a national calamity." To this, Sir, I hope every protestant will most cheerfully agree. So far as the associators really endeavour to avoid perfecution in themselves, and properly guard against it in their popish fellow-subjects, their conduct will merit applause, and it will be deemed worthy of universal imitation. Whether the subsequent part of their pamphlet breathes the same laudable spirit, I shall proceed to inquire.

In pages 8th and 13th they fay: "If our wifeft and best laws against popery are now virtually repealed, and our constitution actually endangered; with what fpirit and unanimity should we act, to preserve our civil and religious liberty from the encroachments of popery, and from its inseparable concomitant, ARBI-

\*\* TRARY POWER?—It is also incompatible with 
\*\* the preservation of our civil constitution to tolerate 
\*\* popery; which not only enslaves the mind, but 
\*\* would bind nobles and people with the iron chains of 
\*\* despotism. It is a system convenient for tyrants; 
\*\* we, at least of this country, have ever found it look- 
\*\* ing with a malignant aspect on freedom, and active 
\*\* in the retinue of arbitrary power."

Here, Sir, the affociation, upon a supposition that our wifest and best laws against popery are virtually repealed, and our constitution actually endangered, call upon us to act with spirit and unanimity, in order to preserve our civil and religious liberties from the encroachments of popery, and from its inseparable concomitant, arbitrary power. Here the real defigns of the affociators appear; 'they obliquely charge government with having a fystem of despotism and tyranny in view; and they endeavour to make us believe, that a toleration of popery will produce those direful effects, which, in my opinion, can only refult from its establishment. For my part, I think our present government is, by much, the mildest upon earth; and I will venture to say, that neither the affociators, nor their co-partners, the leaders in opposition, are capable of proving, that our most gracious fovereign ever shewed the least intention to establish a system of tyranny over his subjects. As a Christian I think it my duty to oppose the errors of popery; and as a protestant, I wish the shocking persecutions which have marked the Roman catholic religion in feveral countries, may induce every protestant state to guard against a repetition of such horrid barbarities: but, at the same time, I think it incumbent on all to avoid every thing like perfecution on account of religion.

The affociators, in the 34th page of their Appeal, fay: "To repeal an act to prevent the refort of popish

bishaps, priefts, and jefuits, to these realms, is a " frong encouragement, not to fay invitation to them " to come over in abundance a" but the whole of this affertion appears to be contrary to truth! The late act was passed for the express purpose of " relieving his "Majefto's Subjects professing the popile neligion," and cannot be construed to extend to foreigners of any description. The act of the eleventh and twelfth of William the Third, subjects all popish bishops, priests, and jesuits, who exercise any part of their functions within these realms, to perpetual imprisonment; and it holds out a reward of an hundred pounds to those who shall prosecute any such offender to conviction. This part of the aforesaid act was repealed by the late statute. on condition of their taking the oath therein stated; but as foreigners are incapable of taking that oath, the aforefaid act of William III, is fill in full force against them; and confequently, all that the affociators fay on that head, in pages 34, 35, and 36, must fall to the ground.

The affociators, in describing (page 44) the hasty manner in which the late act passed, fay: " There se bas been a time, when the spirit of the people would, se and juftly too, have been roused at such surreptitious " conduct : but, alas, for the welfare of these realms ! " a spirit of supineness and indifference, as to the in-" terests of religion and liberty, strangely pervades the " kingdom; and the zeal of our ancestors, either for the " protestant cause, or for our glorious constitution, is " rarely to be found," This, Sir, deferves our most ferious attention. The legislature passed an act for the relief of our popish fellow-subjects, and the affociators, like their minority friends, are now endeavouring to excite the people to oppose its tolerant designs. Whoever endeavours to bring the mildest government upon earth into contempt with the people, from a pretended zeal for the constitution, acts clearly contrary to the character of a good subject; and all attempts to serve the cause of religion, by raising dangerous commotions in that state which is peculiarly friendly to every species of liberty, are directly contrary to every scripture precept and example, and repugnant to the peaceable and benign spirit of the gospel,

The affociation, in pages 45 and 46, fay: "The principal arguments in favour of the bill are the following:—that papifts are become good subjects,
and therefore ought no longer to be exposed to the penalties of such severe statutes;—that, in the presection of affairs, the late repealing act was necessary, to conciliate their affection to government—
and that no bad consequences can result therefrom, as popery is not now of an intolerent and persecuting figurit." From these premises, Sir, they conclude, that "the papists were rendered firm in their alsections which are now repealed:" and they ask, by way of charge: "Why were they repealed?"

To fay that the papifts were rendered firm in their allegiance, by the operation of the wife enactions which are now repealed, is, in my opinion, worse than jesuitical sophistry; and hence I believe, that the question which the associators have framed upon that forced conclusion, does not deserve any answer. Had the associators been actuated by a due regard for truth and justice, they would have acknowledged, that the British Roman catholics, although denied the participation of several valuable privileges, have appeared firm in their attachment to government, amidst the shameful desection of thousands of their protestant sellow-subjects who enjoy all the common privileges of Britons; and they would have concluded, that their loyalty and general

good behaviour, during our present troubles, call on the generofity, as well as the good policy of government, to mitigate the severity of their civil and religious restraints.

The affociation, in order to prove our popish fellow-subjects unworthy of that relief which has lately been granted them, says, in pages 52 and 64: "They pre-subject of the lenity of government; and use various artifices to ensnare the children of the poor, and to pervert the ignorant to their destructive errors: they even insult protestant ministers in the discharge of their duty—Papists are insolent and presuming: and nothing but a law to repeal or qualify the late act, can keep them within the bounds of allegiance and decency."

Here, Sir, the affociators may with great propriety be asked, whether every article of the above charge does not fall with tenfold weight on thousands of our protestant fellow-subjects? Have not they presumed on the lenity of government, and frequently insulted, not only our ministers, but even Majesty itself? Have not they been exceedingly insulent and presuming? And have not they, in numberless instances, far surpassed the bounds of allegiance and decency? Let the association view the daring rebellion, unparalleled perjuries, consistations of private property, illegal imprisonments, arbitrary banishments, and horrid murders beyond the Atlantic, and lay their hands on their mouths: let them turn their eyes to the parricidious conduct of multitudes of protestants here, and blush!

The affociators, in page 62, say: "The people of Great Britain have lately had striking proofs of the fincerity of popish assurances, from the institutions conduct of our Roman catholic neighbours." And, in page 63, they add: "Forgetting their public disavowals of the American

46 American cause, and their solemn protestations to the

" British ministry; their most christian and catholic ma-

se jesties, without the least provocation, contrary to the

ce faith of treaties, and to the law of nations, united for

" our destruction."

That France and Spain have been guilty of great duplicity, respecting the American rebellion, I freely admit; but, if the Roman catholic religion be chargeable with that shameful persidy, how will protestantism appear, when charged with the parricidious conduct of many thousands of its zealous professors in this kingdom? Forgetting that duty which they owe to themselves as Britons, and regardless of their obligations to their king and country, many of our protestant fellowsubjects, in their pernicious opposition to government, have excited the colonies to rebel, persuaded France and Spain to espouse their unnatural cause, and are now assiduously endeavouring to promote their destructive views!

The affociation, in pages 65 and 66, fays: "Should it be objected, that, as the act is passed, it would " now be dangerous to repeal it : let us at least apply 66 for a restraining act, to qualify, amend, and explain " the popish bill.-An act, to declare, that the former es penal statutes are in full force, and that persons shall " be duly encouraged in putting them into execution, " to prevent the further growth of popery. - An act, to " amend the form of the oath in that passed for the re-" lief of the papifts, that protestants, who are required " to take the oath of supremacy, may not be necessitated 66 to incur the guilt of perjury .- An act, to prevent the " papifts (if they must be permitted to acquire landed " property) from interesting themselves, directly or in-"directly, in any election for members of parliament, on pain of forfeiture of their estates,-An act, to pre--1115101

"vent jesuits from resorting hither under heavy penalties, and to prohibit the attempts of papists to pervert protestants to their erroneous tenets, on pain of
exemplary punishment.—And lastly, (if papists must
be permitted to teach those of their own principles
in private) an act, to restrain them from keeping
public schools, and teaching the children of protestant
parents, on pain of perpetual imprisonment or banishment."

Without pretending to know what danger would attend a repeal of the late act, I will venture to fay, that, unless imminent danger to the protestant interest appears manifest, it would be highly ridiculous and unjust. I hope none will object to any qualifying, amending, or explaining of the popish bill that shall appear to be confistent with the principles of our excellent constitution and the spirit of christianity. As the late act only repealed certain clauses of an act, passed in the 11th and 12th of William the Third, all the former penal flatutes are certainly in full force; and as fome of them are very fevere, the affociation, in wishing to encourage persons to put them into execution, give but a forry proof of their aversion to persecution. That all the former penal flatutes are now in full force, appears evident by the aforesaid act of William the Third. Those clauses of that act, which are now repealed, were not enacted in the room and flead of, but expressly declared to have been, " over and beyond the good laws already " made;" and therefore, the repealing of those clauses by the late act, can nowife impair the legal force of any former penal statute. As the pope's authority is not recognized in the form of the oath administered to papifts under the late act, I cannot fee the necessity of a protestant's incurring the guilt of perjury by taking the oath of supremacy. An act to prevent papifts from interesting teresting themselves in any election for members of parliament, may probably become requisite.

The act 27th of Elizabeth, forbids all jesuits, &c. born within her Majesty's dominions, to refort hither on pain of high treason; and the act of the 11th and 12th of William the Third, forbids all foreign bishops, priests, and jesuits, to officiate in these realms on pain of perpetual imprisonment : but to prohibit the attempts \* of papills to pervert protestants to their erroneous tenets, on pain of examplary punishment, would be persecution with a witness. Such prohibition and punishment might be construed to extend to every free conversation between protestants and papists on religious subjects, and would much better become a popish inquisition than a protestant state. - Papists ought, in my opinion, to be reftrained from keeping public schools, and likewise from teaching the children of protestant parents, but not on pain of perpetual imprisonment or banishment: some milder punishment may answer the purpose, and do more honour to the Christian profesfion. If our legislature wish to serve the cause of religion, without incurring the guilt of perfecution, the annexed punishment, whatever it may be, ought to extend to the protestant parents as well as to the popish teachers of their children; and fome mode may be established for educating, at the public expence, the children of all protestants, who, through indigence, shall appear utterly incapable of performing that neceffary duty.

The act 23d of Elizabeth, makes the actual withdrawing, and being withdrawn, from the established to the Romish religion treason; and it declares the aiders, maintainers, and concealers of such withdrawing, guilty of misprison of treason.

In short, Sir, the act which the associators want, " to qualify, amend, and explain the popish bill," is intended to allow them no more than a right to purchase lands under certain restrictions, and to teach the children of popish parents in private; whilst, in the peaceable exercise of their religion, they would be liable to a rigorous execution of all the former penal statutes! I say rigorous execution, because the associators are for encouraging persons to put all the former penal laws into execution. Can fuch conduct be deemed confiftent with the religion of our adorable Redeemer? Shall that gospel, which, in its infancy, made rapid progress, notwithstanding the powers of earth and hell were combined against it, now depend on an act of parliament for its support? And shall protestantism. which has not only furvived the fire of feveral perfecutions, but even flourished through the very means which papal cruelty devised for its extirpation, now call for the civil arm to defend it against the sophistry, superstition, will-worship, and idolatry of our impotent popish fellow-subjects? Publish it not in France or Spain, tell it not in the streets of Rome, lest all the enemies of the protestant cause rejoice. If protestantism cannot stand the test with popery, the unerring scriptures being admitted as the only criterion, it is high time for us to know wherein its inferiority consists: the matter in question is furely of the utmost importance, and worthy of our most serious attention.

In order to show how the laws now stand, respecting popery, I shall produce extracts from sive acts of parliament, and make some remarks on those which have been repealed by the late statute.

The act 23d of Elizabeth, chap, 1. makes it treason to withdraw, or to be withdrawn from the religion established, to the Romish religion: and it declares all aiders,

aiders, maintainers, and concealers, of such withdrawing, guilty of misprison of treason. The penalty for saying and hearing of mass, is expressed, by the sourth section of that statute, in the following words, viz.

And be it likewise enacted, that every person which shall say or sing mass, being thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit the sum of two hundred marks, and be committed to prison in the next county goal, there to remain by the space of one year, and from thencesorth till he have paid the said sum of two hundred marks: and that every person which shall willingly hear mass, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred marks, and suffer imprisonment for one year.

The act 27th of Elizabeth, chap. 2. fect. 2. runs as follows: " And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that it shall not be lawful to or for any er jefuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclefiaffical person whatever, being so born within this realm, or any other her highness' dominions, and heretofore fince the faid feaft of the ativity of St. John the Baptift, in the first year of "her Majesty's reign, made, ordained, or professed, or hereafter to be made, ordained, or professed, by " any authority or jurisdiction derived, challenged, or or pretended from the See of Rome, by or of what name, title, or degree foever the fame shall be called or known, to come into, be or remain in any part of this realm, or any other her highness' dominions, se after the end of the same forty days, other than in " fuch special cases, and upon such special occasions " only, and for fuch time only, as is expressed in this " act; and if he do, that then every fuch offence shall " be taken and adjudged to be high treason; and every er person so offending, shall for his offence be adjudged " a traitor, and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, as in cases C 2

of high treason." Section 4th, "And every person, which after the end of forty days, and after such time of departure as is before limited and appointed, thall wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain any such jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, being at liberty, or out of hold, knowing him to be a jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, shall also for such offence be adjudged a felon, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death, lose and forseit, as in case of one attainted of selony,"

The act ift of James I, chap. 4th, confirms the flatutes made against papists in the preceding reign, and prohibits teaching, by popish schoolmasters, in the following words: " And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel next shall keep any school, or be a se schoolmaster, out of any the universities or colleges of this realm, except it be in some public or free gram-"mar school, or in some such nobleman's or noblewoman's, or gentleman's or gentlewoman's house, as are not recufants, or where the fame schoolmaster " shall be specially licenced thereunto by the archbishop, bishop or guardian of the spiritualities of that diocese; upon pain that as well the schoolmaster, as es also the party that shall retain or maintain any such c schoolmaster contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall forfeit each of them for every day fo wittingly offending, forty shillings. The one . 46 half of all the penalties and fums of money before mentioned to be forfeited, to be to the king, his heirs and successors, the other to him or them that shall or will fue for the fame, in any of the courts of re-" record

" cord in Westminster, by action of debt, bill, plaint, " or information."

The act 3d of James the I. chap. 5th, fays: " That " fuch persons as shall first discover to any justice of " peace, any recufant or other person which shall en-" tertain or relieve any jesuit, seminary or popish " priest, or shall discover any mass to have been said, and the persons that were present at such mass, and " the priest that said the same, or any of them, within three days next after the offence committed, and that 66 by reason of such discovery any of the said offenders be taken and convicted or attainted, that then the per-" fons which hath made fuch discovery, shall not only be freed from the danger and penalty of any law for " fuch offence, if he be an offender therein, but also " shall have the third part of the forfeiture of all such " fums of money, goods, chattles, and debts, which " shall be forfeited by such offence, so as the same total forfeiture exceed not the fum of one hundred and fifty pounds; and if it exceed the fum of one hundred and fifty pounds, the faid persons so discovering the " faid offence, shall have the sum of fifty pounds only " for fuch discovery."

The act 11th and 12th of William the Third, ordained: "That from and after the five and twentieth day of March, one thousand and seven hundred, all and "every person and persons, who shall apprehend and take one or more popish bishop, priest, or jesuit, and prosecute him or them so apprehended and taken, until he or they be convicted of saying mass, or of exercising any other part of the office or sunction of a popish bishop or priest within these realms, shall have and receive from the sheriff or sheriffs of the county where such conviction shall be made (without paying any see for the same) for every such offender "so

see so convicted, the sum of one hundred pounds, within four months after such conviction, and demand se thereof made, by tendering a certificate to the faid theriff or theriffs, under the hand or hands of the i judge or justices before whom such conviction shall be made, certifying the conviction of fuch popish se bishop, priest, or jesuit; and also that such popish ce bishop, priest, or jesuit, popish bishops, priests, or se jesuits, was or were taken by the person or persons " claiming the faid reward. - And for a further reme-" dy against the growth of popery, over and beyond the se good laws already made, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any popish priest or jesuit whatfoever, shall fay mass, or exercise any other part of the office or function of a popish bishop or priest within these realms, or the dominions thereunto be-" longing; or if any papilt, or person making prose fession of the popish religion, shall keep school, or stake upon themselves the education or government, se or boarding of youth in any place within this realm, " or the dominions thereunto belonging, fuch persons being thereof lawfully convicted, that then every fuch " person shall on such conviction be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, in such place or places within " this kingdom, as the king by the advice of his privy " council shall appoint,

"And be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the nine and twentieth day of September, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred, if any person educated in the popish religion, or professing the same, shall not within six months after he or she shall attain the age of eighteen years, take the oaths of allegiance and fupremacy, and also subscribe the declaration set down and express in an act of parliament, made in the thir-

" tieth year of the reign of the late King Charles the Second, intitled, an act for the more effectual pre-" ferving the king's person and government, by disabling " papifts from fitting in either House of Parliament, to " be by him or her made, repeated and subscribed in the " Courts of Chancery or King's Bench, or Quarter Sefof fions of the county where fuch person shall reside, " every fuch person shall in respect of him or herself " only, and not to or in respect of any of his or her " heirs or posterity, be disabled and made incapable to "inherit or take by descent, devise, or limitation, in of possession, reversion or remainder, any lands, tene-" ments, or hereditaments, within the kingdom of Eng-" land, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon "Tweed: and that during the life of fuch person, or " until he or she do take the said oaths, and make, reer peat, and subscribe the faid declaration in manner a-" foresaid, the next of his or her kindred, which shall " be a protestant, shall have and enjoy the said lands, "tenements, and hereditaments, without being accountable for the profits by him or her received during " fuch enjoyment thereof as aforesaid: and that from and " after the tenth day of April, which shall be in the " year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred, every " papift, or person making profession of the popish reli-" gion, shall be disabled, and is hereby made incapable, " to purchase, either in his or her own name, or in the " name of any other person or persons, to his or her use, " or in trust for him or her, any manors, lands, profits " out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or heredita-" ments, within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that " all and fingular estates, terms, and any other interests " or profits whatsoever out of lands, from and after the " faid tenth day of April, to be made, suffered, or done,

"to or for the use or behoof of any such person or per"fons, or upon any trust or confidence, mediately or
"immediately, to or for the benefit or relief of any such
"person or persons, shall be utterly void and of none
"effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes
"whatsoever.

"And whereas by an act made in the third year of King James the I. intitled, an act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by popish recusants, whoever shall be convicted of fending, or causing to s be fent, any child, or any other person under their overnment, into parts beyond the feas out of the " king's obedience, to the intent that fuch child or of person so sent should be educated in the Romish relisi gion, contrary to the faid act, is to forfeit one hun-"dred pounds, one half to the king's Majesty, and the other half to him that shall sue for the same: for the es greater encouragement and reward of those who shall s discover such offenders, be it enacted by the authority " aforesaid, that the said sum of one hundred pounds a shall be to the sole use and benefit of him or her who thall discover and convict any person so offending, to be recovered in such manner as in the said recited act is enacted; any thing in the faid act to the contrary " notwithstanding."

All the foregoing quotations from the several statutes are now in full force, excepting those from the act of William the III. which, excepting the last paragraph concerning the sending of any child or other person beyond the seas to be educated in the Romish religion, were repealed by the late act, so far as they relate to British subjects. The disability in papists to inherit or take by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and also their disability to purchase any ma-

nors, lands, profits out of lands, tenements, rents, terms, or hereditaments, is removed by the late act, provided that every claimer do, "within the space of is fix calendar months after the passing of this act, or of accruing of his, her, or their title, being of the age of twenty-one years, or who, being under the age of twenty-one years, shall, within fix months after he or she shall attain the age of twenty-one years, or being of unsound mind, or in prison, or beyond the seas, then within fix months after such disability removed, take and subscribe an oath in the words following:

"I A. B. do fincerely promife and fwear, that I will " be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, and him will defend, to the " utmost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatfoever that shall be made against his perfon, crown, or dignity; and I will do my utmost en-"deavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty. " his heirs and fuccessors, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies which may be formed against him or "them; and I do faithfully promife to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the fuccession of the crown in his Majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly re-" nouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance " unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales, in the life-time of his father, " and who, fince his death, is faid to have affumed the se style and title of King of Great Britain, by the name of " Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or " pretending a right to the crown of these realms; and I of do fwear, that I do reject and detest, as an unet christian and impious polition, that it is lawful to " murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, " for

" for or under pretence of their being hereties; and of also that unchristian and impious principle, that no se faith is to be kept with hereticks : I further declare, " that it is no article of my faith, and that I do re-" nounce, reject, and abjure, the opinion that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any 46 authority of the fee of Rome, or by any authority " whatfoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subicels, or any person whatsoever : and I do declare, that se I do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other " foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or " ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, or power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or in-" directly, within this realm. And I do folemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that of I do make this declaration, and every part thereof. in the plain and ordinary fense of the words of this coath; without any evafion, equivocation, or mental er refervation what soever; and without any dispensation se already granted by the pope, or any authority of the se fee of Rome, or any person whatever; and without " thinking, that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope, or any other persons, or " authority whatever, shall dispense with or annul the ss fame, or declare that it was null and void."

Although the late act has repealed all that part of the statute, made in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of King William the Third, which "relates to the the apprehending, taking, or prosecuting of popish bishops, priests, or jesuits; and also so much of the faid act as subjects popish bishops, priests, or jesuits, and papists, or persons professing the popish religion, and keeping school, or taking upon themselves the ducation or government or boarding of youth, within

"this realm, or the dominions thereunto belonging, to 
"perpetual imprisonment:" yet none can claim the benefit thereof unless they have taken and subscribed the 
preceding oath. This will clearly appear, by the following clause of the late act: "Provided always, and it 
is hereby enacted and declared, that nothing in this 
act contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, 
to any popish bishop, priest, jesuit, or schoolmaster, 
who shall not have taken and subscribed the above 
oath in the above words before he shall have been apapprehended or any prosecution commenced against 
him."

As the act of William the Third comprehends foreigners, as well as his Majesty's subjects, and as the former cannot take and subscribe that oath which is indispensibly necessary to entitle them to the benefit of the late act, it is evident that foreigners are still under the act of William the Third, and liable to perpetual imprisonment; excepting only such foreign priest as shall officiate within the dwelling house of any foreign minister residing here, provided that "the name of such priest, and the place of his birth, and the foreign minister to whom he shall belong, be entered and resigners in the office of the principal secretary of state."

The act 23d of Elizabeth, makes the withdrawing, and being withdrawn, from the established to the Romish religion, treason; and it declares the aiders, maintainers, and concealers of such, guilty of misprison of treason. By the same act, all who say and hear mass are liable to a fine and a year's imprisonment: and the act 3d of James the First, gives one third part of all such fines to those who shall prosecute the offenders to conviction.

By the act 27th of Elizabeth. It is treason in any jesuit, seminary priess, or other such priess, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person whatsoever, being born within her Majesty's dominions, to come into, be or remain in any part of the realm; and selony, without benefit of clergy, in those who wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain them.—For the encouragement of those who shall discover the entertainers, or relievers of any jesuit, seminary or popish priess, the act 3d of James the First allows them one third part of the forseitures of all such sums of money, goods, chattles, and debts, which shall be forseited by such offence; so that the said third part shall, in no case, exceed the sum of sifty pounds.

The act ist of James the First, lays a fine of forty shillings a day on every popish schoolmaster; and a like fine on those who retain or maintain such schoolmaster. This act gives one half of all the penalties and forseitures

to those who shall prosecute to conviction.

The act of the eleventh and twelfth of William the Third, gives the whole of the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, for sending a child or other person to be educated in any popish seminary beyond the seas, to those who shall discover and convict any person so offending. It also offers a reward of one hundred pounds to those who shall convict any popish bishop, priest, or jesuit, of exercising any part of their functions in these realms, unless qualified according to the late act; and it subjects all such offenders, as well as all popish schoolmasters, who neglect to qualify as aforesaid, to perpetual imprisonment.

Having thus stated the laws which relate to papists, you will easily observe, Sir, that the late act gives no right to popish bishops, priests, jesuits, or schoolmasters, to

exercise

exercise any part of their functions: those indeed who qualify, by taking and subscribing the oaths enjoined by the late statute, are freed from the penalties contained in the aforesaid act of William the Third; they are thence forward in no danger of perpetual imprisonment, nor will bad men be stimulated to bring them to trial, by the hopes of obtaining an hundred pounds reward: but priests and jesuits may be prosecuted upon the act 23d of Elizabeth, or on that of the 27th of the same reign, at the election of the prosecutor; and schoolmasters may be proceeded against upon the act 1st of James the First.

Should any Roman catholic dare to withdraw any person from the established to the popish religion, he may, by the act 23d of Elizabeth, be profecuted as a traitor; and all fayers and hearers of mass may, by the same statute, be fined and imprisoned for the space of a whole year. If any profecutor shall think this punishment inadequate to the offence, he may proceed upon the act made in the 27th year of that reign, by which all jesuits, seminary priests, or other such priests, deacons, or religious or ecclefiastical persons whatsoever, born within his Majesty's dominions, and found in any part of the realm, are to suffer as traitors; and all those who wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain them, are punishable as in cases of felony. This law, Sir, is certainly very fevere, and, notwithstanding what the associators have advanced on the subject, it is in no degree virtually repealed: but, for the fake of humanity, and the honour of protestantism, I hope it will ever continue dormant in the flatutebooks. Many weighty reasons which doubtless operated on the legislature, in making fuch laws, have now no existence: and as our Roman catholic fellow-subjects know, that the perfecuting conduct of their forefathers

has placed them (their descendants) within the lines of fuspicion, and that the civil arm is now clearly on the protestant fide, I hope they will fedulously endeavour to merit that Christian toleration and civil lenity which fo eminently mark the character of Britons. They have long had the pleasing experience of protestant indulgence; and it is doing them no more than common justice to fay, that their peaceable and loyal behaviour, at a time when faction and fedition stalk through the kingdoms with impunity; entitles them to greater degrees of favour. Should they, at any future period, forget their obligations to so indulgent a government, and act unworthy the favourable regards of their protestant fellow-subjects, a due execution of the laws against popery will then become an act of justice to the state, and their punishment will be rendered more poignant, by the recollection of that justly forfeited indulgence which they formerly enjoyed. Protestants may then ground their petitions, for a repeal of the late Statute upon certain and indubitable facts, instead of pleading their fears, their imaginations, and their dreams; and the unhappy objects of fuch necessary coercion will have only their own imprudent and ungrateful conduct to blame for the consequences:

As we believe that popery abounds with error and absurdity, we ought to be always ready to enter into free and ferious conversation with papifts on religious subjects. When protestantism is attacked, it is incumbent on its professors to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the faints: and as we know popery to have formerly been of an intolerant and perfecuting spirit, we should carefully endeavour to avoid bringing protestantism into that horrid predicament. We should always consider, that no man can, with propriety, reprove that in others which he allows in himself; and as we 20 14

justly condemn every species of persecution in the Roman catholics, we certainly ought to guard against every appearance of it amongst ourselves. Papists, believing in the infallibility of the pope, may ignorantly plead his authority for their acts of cruelty; but, as we truft not to any thing fhort of the facred oracles, which expressly forbid all manner of coercion and violence in matters of faith, we shall be utterly inexcusable if we act directly contrary to that divine command which fays: Love your enemies, blefs them that curfe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you -The affociation, in page 9th, fays: "Perfecution, on the account of religion, is equally " wicked and absurd, because it defeats its own end; " for, instead of reconciling the mind to any set of reif ligious principles, it must excite the utmost horror 45 and disgust: it may make hypocrites -- it cannot " make true converts." These sentiments, Sir, are confonant to reason, and worthy of being adopted by every Christian; but they are quite repugnant to those measures which the affociators earnestly recommend, and clearly subversive of their intolerant designs ! The affociators certainly do recommend persecution, on the account of religion, and therefore I conclude, that their plan is equally wicked and abfurd; because, viewing it in that light, it defeats its own end : instead of reconciling the minds of our popish fellow-subjects to the principles of the protestant religion. it must, as the associators justly say, " excite the " utmost horror and disgust."

Many of the affociators, I believe, are actuated by a true, though mistaken zeal for the protestant religion; but I am far from thinking, that the leaders in that business can justly plead such purity of principle. I am persuaded that several of them are fellow-labourers with

our patriots, in their destructive opposition to government; and I cannot avoid presuming, that some of the clerical members wish to acquire popularity, in order to draw hearers from those differning ministers, who, zealous for protestantism, and firmly attached to their country, cannot join in dishonouring the former, nor in disturbing the peace, and endangering the welfare of the latter. When protestant ministers apply to the civil power, for the interposition of its authority, in behalf of the protestant religion, they declare themselves to be overmatched, by their calling out for more help; and, unless some very particular circumstances warrant the measure, they ought to consider themselves as accountable to God and their country for the consequences,

Although it must be granted, that papists profess tenets which afford protestant governments just cause to watch their conduct as subjects, I cannot think that they are proper objects of legal punishment, unless proved guilty of some particular act of delinquency. We know that the absolving and dispensing power of the pope, as well as his spiritual supremacy, are articles of the popish creed; but we cannot believe, that all papists, or even the generality of them, do really hold fuch opinions. The doctrinal articles of the church of England continue to be subscribed by all the established clergy; but will any man venture to fay, that their fentiments, either real or professed, correspond with that formal approbation? The diversity of opinions, among those who fubscribe, is notorious; and some of them are as opposite to each other as darkness is to light. If this be the case amongst protestants, what must we think of the professors of that religion which abounds with superstition and error ? If we are sensible that infidelity has lately made great progress amongst protestants, 700

testants, we cannot believe that it is less prevalent among the Roman catholics, although, they may be much more careful to keep it concealed. I am forry to fay, that many, who complain loudly against the pope of Rome, are frequently endeavouring to fet up pope felf; that those who exclaim against popish cruelty, are feeking for power to persecute; and that, whatever errors there may be in popery, there is one among protestants of a much greater magnitude. We know that there are many avowed SOCINIANS among us; and, probably, there are many more who dare not avow their heretical principles. The papifts, fo far as we know, are free from this capital error. Their fuperstition and their errors are, indeed, inimical to religious liberty, hurtful to Christianity, and, in some particulars, repugnant to common fense. But Socinians, Sir, endeavour to pull down the main pillar of the Christian religion; they aim at rendering the death of our Saviour totally ineffectual; and, alarming consideration! they attempt to ftrip Christianity of every thing that is valuable to a finful world.

To conclude, Sir: the legislature, in granting relief to our popish fellow-subjects, must have been actuated by religious, or by political motives; if the affociators suppose the former, they cannot, consistent with the principles of civil and religious liberty, endeavour to counteract them; and, if they suppose the latter to have been the case, they must believe, that the political objects of government are not yet obtained; and therefore, that all attempts to frustrate the great national purposes of the statute, are directly contrary to that duty which every individual owes to his king and his country. The affociators affect to be anxiously concerned for the protestant religion and the British constitution; but their conduct declares them to be regardless of both.

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Regardless did I say? Yea more : they are, virtually, enemies to both. In proposing a law to prevent papists from holding religious conversation with protestants, on pain of exemplary punishment, they pay an ill-judged compliment to popery, at the expence of protestantism: and in endeavouring to fir up commotions throughout the kingdoms, at this dangerous crifis, to create jealoufy in the minds of the people, respecting their civil and religious rights, to alienate the affection of the subjects from their most gracious Sovereign, and to embarrase government, by bringing it into universal contempt, they are traitors to their king, and enemies to the conflitution. By looking into Roman catholic states we may eafily fee, that the power of the pope is much on the decline; and thence we may hope, that the consciences of papists are, in a great measure, emancipated from their former papal flavery: be that as it may, we should be careful to act, in all cases, as becometh Christi-LOVE is the distinguishing characteristic of true ans. Christianity, and such as properly exercise that god-like virtue, vield obedience to their divine master, and do real honour to their profession; but those who are for acts of parliament to prohibit free discussion, and call for penal laws to bind the conscience in matters of religion, are inimical to liberty, enemies to Christianity, and a difgrace to the protestant cause.

I am glad, Sir, to find, that the applications which the affociation have made to the feveral differing congregations, in and about London, have met with that contempt which the pernicious views of the leading affociators deferve. Some ministers have, indeed, joined them, and several of the laity have contributed to their designs, by their pames and their money: but almost all the regular differing ministers, with much the greater part of their congregations, have behaved as

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good subjects, and done real honour to the protestant cause. Although it would ill become me, in contending for religious and civil liberty, to deny others the free exercise of their rights, I beg leave to say, it is incumbent on all to act cautiously, when the interest of religion and the welfare of their country are eminently concerned. Protestants ought always to distinguish between popery and its professors; and, in opposing the former, they should be eareful to avoid injuring the latter. In every important matter, passion and prejudice are apt to blend themselves even with our most laudable zeal; and hence that rectitude which ought always to mark the conduct of every Christian, is in a great meafure destroyed. Those who wish the protestant religion to prevail against popery, ought to use their best endeavours to drefs it in the most engaging colours. Have papists frequently discovered a persecuting spirit? Let us be careful to prevent their having such power as would enable them to act injuriously. Do we charge popery with intolerant principles? Let us be sedulous in recommending protestantism by a manifestation of Christian love and forbearance. Papifts are faid to be indefatigable in making profelytes; but protestants have many more opportunities, in this country, and they also have much nobler incentives. It has often been reported, that papifts spare neither pains nor expence in procuring and educating the children of indigent protestants; but no one has ever faid, that any attempts have been made to hinder protestants from being equally sedulous and liberal. If papifts believe that their religion is consonant to scripture, their zeal in propagating it, is worthy of praise; and if we know that protestantism is, upon fair trial, the pureft religion in the world, our want of zeal in its cause must certainly redound to our shame, As protestants are, with us, more numerous, more powerful,

powerful, and more opulent than papille, the complaints of the former, respecting the dangerous influ latter, must appear in a very unfavourable light; and their want of due zeal for Christianity in general, and the protestant religion in particular, is much to be deplored -to an "they extramed

That real religion and true godline's may univerfally prevail over superstition, error, and idolatery; that the meek and liberal spirit of the gospel may possess the minds and influence the conduct of all its professors; that Great Britain may ever continue diffinguished as a protestant, a free, and a happy state, and that a race of illustrious princes, lineally descend. ed from our most bgracious Sovereign, may mildly gowern, and effectually guard the British empire, till kings and kingdoms shall be here no more; is the enxious with of,

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